

## Chapter 3

### Referring Expressions

Chapter 2 gave an overview of Kmhmu' nominal syntactic structures and their functions at phrase, clause, and sentence level. This chapter examines the discourse level functions of those syntactic structures which have to do with referring expressions. The term **referring expression** is used in this study to mean any linguistic form used by a speaker to communicate the identity of a referent. A **referent** is not so much an object or entity in the physical world as a mental concept or representation of it in the minds of the speaker and hearer in the communication situation (Lambrecht 1994). **Reference** is that process whereby the speaker gives linguistic signals, i.e. uses referring expressions, which he believes the hearer will correctly interpret as identifying a certain referent.

The forms of these linguistic signals and what they are communicating in the text of Kmhmu' narrative discourse will be discussed in the following sections. After a review of the literature giving a theoretical approach to analysing referring expressions, I will describe the discourse functions of modified NPs, and then move on to simpler NPs, the use of proper nouns and kin terms, pronouns, classifier phrases, demonstratives, *siŋ* constructions, and zero anaphora, giving examples from the texts under study.

#### 3.1 Literature review

Both grammatical and discourse-pragmatic factors govern the use of referring expressions. Grammatical factors include individuation and specificity of nouns, and discourse-pragmatic factors include referent identifiability, activation status and thematic salience. These factors are discussed in the following sections, as presented in the literature.

### 3.1.1 Individuation and specificity

In terms of grammar, the nature of Kmhmu' nouns as **sort** nouns (Rijkhoff 2002) (see section 2.1.1 Rijkhoff on nominal subcategories and the structure of the NP), means that they denote concepts rather than discrete objects (Hundius and Kölver 1983). In order for a specific reference to be made, the head noun must be modified by another element which allows the concept to be individuated or **embodied** (Foley 1997:231). Individuation or specificity of Kmhmu' nouns is accomplished by the use of proper nouns, possessors, classifier phrases or demonstratives.

### 3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience

In terms of discourse-pragmatics, when a speaker uses a referring expression, they choose it based on what they believe the hearer knows about the referent and what they wish to communicate on how significant that referent is in the ensuing narrative. Thus referring expressions provide both anaphoric and cataphoric pragmatic information (Givón 2001b). Linguistic encoding signals to the hearer whether this referent has been previously referred to in the discourse (anaphoric information), and how significant this referent will be in the ongoing discourse (cataphoric information). Lambrecht (1994) speaks of the anaphoric information in terms of pragmatic properties, and the cataphoric information in terms of prominence of the referents.

The pragmatic properties of a referent concern the speaker's assessment of the referent's **identifiability** by the hearer, and its **activation status** in the mind of the hearer (Lambrecht 1994). The terms associated with identifiability and activation status are summarised in Figure 3 and explained below.

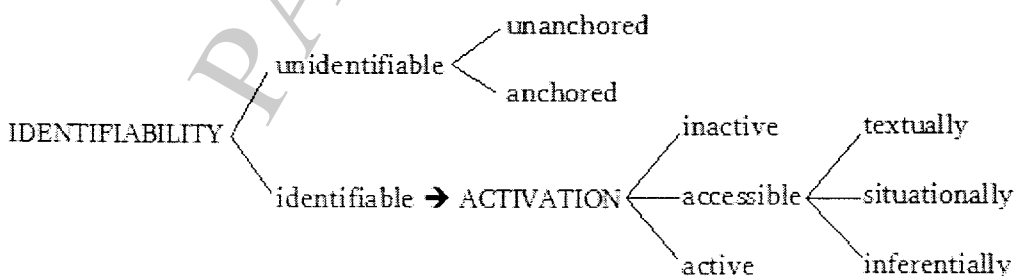


Figure 3: Identifiability and Activation States (Lambrecht 1994:109)

**Identifiability** refers to whether the speaker believes the hearer is able to identify the referent or not.<sup>2</sup> If a referent is **unidentifiable**, then it is a brand-new referent. In cognitive terms, the grammatical encoding used in discourse for a brand-new referent signals to the hearer that they must set up a new mental representation or mental compartment under the label of this referent, and store all relevant new information there (Chafe 1975; Givón 2001b).

The new referent may be introduced as **unanchored** or **anchored** (Prince 1981). 'A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or "Anchor," properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity' (Prince 1981:236). The anchor must be an identifiable entity. Anchoring a referent assists the hearer in connecting the new referent with known information and in appropriately locating the mental representation in the discourse register, or set of mental representations, shared by the speaker and hearer (Lambrecht 1994).

If a referent is believed to be **identifiable** by the hearer, then the encoding used by the speaker will reflect what he believes to be the **activation** status of that referent in the mind of the hearer. Although the human mind can contain a large amount of information, only a limited amount may be in the front of consciousness, or **activated** at any one time (Chafe 1994:53). Chafe describes three activation states; **inactive**, **accessible**, and **active** (see Figure 3). An active concept is the one in focus currently. Inactive concepts are in long-term memory. Accessible concepts are on the periphery of awareness, either because they have been referred to in the text world, i.e. **textually accessible**, are present in the speech situation or text-external world, i.e. **situationally accessible**, or they belong to a schema, i.e. **inferentially accessible** from shared cultural knowledge (Chafe 1994:122).

While the anaphoric information signalled by a referring expression concerns the pragmatic properties of a referent, namely its identifiability and activation status, the cataphoric information signalled by a referring expression concerns its prominence (Lambrecht 1994), also described as persistence as a topic throughout the following discourse (Givón 2001b), or thematic salience (Longacre 1990). The **thematic salience** of a new referent is signalled by the amount and type of encoding used (Longacre 1990; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b).

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<sup>2</sup> This concept is denoted by some with the term 'definiteness'. Along with Chafe (1975:39), I find the term identifiability a more helpful label for this concept, and use it throughout this thesis.

These two factors - the **identifiability**, or predictability, of a referent, and the **thematic salience** of a referent - will affect the choice of coding material used by the speaker according to Givón's iconicity of quantity principle (1990:969) shown in (43). Greater coding material is needed to achieve greater cognitive impact.

#### (43) Givón's iconicity of quantity principle

Less predictable information will be given more coding material.

More important information will be given more coding material.

When a thematically salient, unidentifiable referent is introduced into discourse, we thus expect to see a large amount of coding material, in a grammatical structure that signals to the hearer to create a new mental representation that will continue to be active or accessible throughout the discourse. It also signals to the hearer to organise the new information given in the ensuing narrative around this particular referent. Often such a thematically salient referent is a new participant in the narrative, who may be salient or prominent for one thematic grouping of the text, a **locally salient participant**, or for the entire narrative, a **globally salient participant**.

## 3.2 Methodology

On the basis of these theoretical concepts, the texts were examined and analysed in terms of the functions of referring expressions in discourse. These are described in the following sections.

## 3.3 NPs with attributive modifiers in discourse

A maximally modified Kmhmu' NP may include attributive modifiers as well as a classifier phrase and/or a demonstrative. Attributive modifiers include adjectives and relative clauses and may be further divided into nonrestrictive and restrictive modifiers.

### 3.3.1 Nonrestrictive modifiers

Nonrestrictive modifiers add descriptive information about the referent, but do not narrow down the possible referents. They usually occur with unidentifiable

referents as they are introduced into the story. In using nonrestrictive attributive modifiers, the speaker provides information about the new referent, and also signals by the choice of modifiers what role this referent will have in the ensuing text. An example is shown in (44). The uncle is mentioned for the first time and described using a series of equative clauses including NPs with nonrestrictive relative clauses. He is described as *gon t<sup>h</sup>ii dzɔɔ* 'a person who is diligent', and *gon dzɔɔ sɔɔk too daʔ briʔ* 'a person who habitually hunted animals in the forest'.

(44)Bear.009

*dia gi'niʔ ʔiʔ ʔah kuɥn ʔiʔ kuɥn ʔiʔ*  
time that\_one 1pl have uncle\_by\_marriage 1pl uncle\_by\_marriage 1pl  
*niʔ gəə məh gon t<sup>h</sup>ii dzɔɔ məh naaj p<sup>h</sup>aan san'sah məh*  
this 3sgm be person that diligent be expert\_hunter like\_this be  
*gon dzɔɔ sɔɔk too daʔ briʔ*  
person HAB seek animal at forest

(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.

This description prepares the hearer for the uncle's role in the story to come, where he has a major part in hunting the bear.

Another example of a nonrestrictive modifier is shown in (45). The referent being introduced here is a cave. The head noun *hin'tuʔ t<sup>h</sup>am* 'cave entrance' is modified by an adjective *ɲɛʔ* 'small' and a relative clause *p<sup>h</sup>ɔ'dii ləʔ sih gəə* 'just enough to be good to lie down in', both nonrestrictive modifiers.

(45)Orphan.047

*ʔah hin'tuʔ t<sup>h</sup>am ɲɛʔ p<sup>h</sup>ɔ'dii ləʔ sih gəə gɔʔ sih*  
have hole cave small exactly good lie\_down 3sgm so\_then lie\_down  
*ɲiʔ*  
here

(There) was a small cave entrance just enough to be good to lie down (in), so he lay down here.

These attributive modifiers provide descriptive information about the size of the cave, and point to the contribution of the cave to the next event where the orphan lies down to sleep in it.

Nonrestrictive modifiers also signal the thematic salience of a referent by the amount of encoding material devoted to describing it for the first time. A salient referent, one that will persist throughout the narrative and have a significant role to play, will generally be given a greater amount of encoding, often in attributive modifiers. This is seen in examples (44) and (45), where the uncle, a major participant in the Bear story, is introduced with much more descriptive material than the cave, a prop along the way in the Orphan story.

### 3.3.2 Restrictive modifiers

Restrictive modifiers, on the other hand, usually occur with identifiable referents, and serve to “further specify or narrow down the domain of reference of their head nouns” (Givón 2001b:1). The speaker may use these restrictive modifiers to refer to a unique attribute of this referent, or to an event in the preceding text with which this particular referent is uniquely associated (Givón 2001b:176). Restrictive relative clauses identify a referent in terms of an event or state, and thus locate it in time.

An example of a restrictive relative clause is shown in (46). There are four female participants involved at this point of the story, the mother, her two grown daughters, and a younger daughter who the mother carries. They have previously been introduced by name, and the eldest daughter is described as being married and six months pregnant. The tiger attacks one of the daughters, who is identified by name first *ja? mii* 'Ms Mi', and then in case the hearers are unclear which person this is, an appositional NP with a restrictive relative clause is added, *ja? gəə maan kəən ni?* 'the woman who was pregnant'.

(46)Man\_eater.029

<i>ra'waaj</i>	<i>metç</i>	<i>siaŋ</i>	<i>nɔɔ</i>	<i>kʰiaŋ</i>	<i>kwaaj</i>	<i>gəə</i>	<i>gaaj</i>	<i>pok</i>	<i>ja?</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>ja?</i>
tiger	sense	sound	3pl	dig	tuber	3sgn	DIR	bite	Ms	Mi	Ms
	<i>gəə</i>	<i>maan</i>		<i>kəən</i>	<i>ni?</i>						
	that	be_pregnant		child	this						

The tiger heard the sound of them digging for tubers, (and) it came (and) attacked Ms Mi, the woman who was pregnant.

### 3.4 Possessive phrases in discourse

Possessive phrases have two major functions in discourse. They are used in **anchoring unidentifiable referents** in a narrative, and secondly they are used in **locating accessible referents** in the discourse world.

**Anchoring** involves linking an unidentifiable referent to an identifiable referent, which is the **anchor** (Prince 1981:236). Possessors in a possessive phrase perform this function. An example of a possessive phrase anchoring an unidentifiable referent is shown in (47) with the possessive phrase *ma? naa* 'her mother'. The noun *ma?* 'mother' denotes an unidentifiable referent. The possessor *naa* '3sgf' refers to the already identifiable referent *ja? dɛɛŋ* 'Ms Daeng', and so acts as an anchor linking *ma?* 'mother' with an identifiable referent, and allowing it to be located in the world of discourse.

(47)Man\_eater.007

*mooj mi̯i ja? dɛɛŋ pa? ma? naa jɔh kʰiaŋ kwaaj da?*  
one Clf\_days Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber at  
*bri?*  
forest

One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.

Related to anchoring is the need to make a reference specific, rather than generic. In order for a specific reference to be made, the head noun must be modified by another element which allows the concept to be individuated or **embodied** (Foley 1997:231). The possessor also enables the concept conveyed by the noun *ma?* 'mother' to be individuated, or given specificity.

The second function of possessive phrases is to help the hearer to identify accessible referents by **locating** them in the discourse world, giving them a link in the mind of the hearer with the possessor (Rijkhoff 2002:175). An example is shown in (48), where the new village created by the magic monkey is compared with the village belonging to the princess's father. This referent, the village of the princess's father, has been previously mentioned in the narrative in Orphan.086 and is therefore an identifiable referent. It is referred to in Orphan.124 using the possessive phrase *kun jɔŋ nɔɔ* 'their father's village', by relating it to the possessor, *jɔŋ nɔɔ* 'their father'.

(48)Orphan.124

*bliɑ*      *liin*      *kuj*    *joŋ*    *nɔ*    *g'i:ni?*    *tɛɛ*    *ʔam*    *da?*    *ʔah*  
 beautiful more\_than village father 3pl that\_one but NEG not\_yet have

*gaŋ*    *gon*  
 house person

(It) was more beautiful than their father's village, but (there) were not yet any houses (for) people.

As mentioned in section 2.3.5 Possessive phrases, there is an alternative construction for a possessive phrase which has the possession marker *de?* preceding the possessor. The frequency of possessive phrases with *de?* is far less than those without. In the texts under study, only 8 occurrences of *de?* were found out of a total of 127 possessive phrases, i.e. 6.3%. All of these 8 occurrences were in a context where the possessor was particularly in focus. The example in (49) follows a long description of the magnificence of the city the orphan and princess are approaching. Further emphasis is given to this by announcing it as the city belonging to an ancient king. The use of the possession marker *de?* focuses on the possessor, *tɕawsi'wit ʔaam ʔə?* 'a ancient king (in) ancient times', in order to add significance to the splendour of the city.

(49)Orphan.086

*məh*    *miaŋ*    *de?*    *tɕawsi'wit*    *ʔaam*      *ʔə?*  
 be    district    POSS    king      period\_of\_time    long\_ago

(It) was the city of a king (in) ancient times.

Thus whenever a possessive phrase contains the possession marker *de?*, it is a signal to the hearer to pay particular attention to the possessor, and consider the implications for the referent being identified.

### 3.5 NPs with classifier phrases in discourse

In narrative discourse, classifiers and classifier phrases perform discourse level functions other than quantifying or counting (Craig 1986, 1992; Bisang 1999). Hopper (1986:323) describes the essential role of classifiers in discourse in a written Malay text as giving “nouns a prominence in the discourse which derives from their ability to be topics and to be sustained participants”. Thus he notes that pragmatic factors, such as the thematic salience of a participant, motivate the use of classifiers when new participants are introduced.



Kmhmu' classifiers in the context of NPs are involved in discourse level functions which include signalling the **specificity**, **identifiability**, and **thematic salience** of referents.

### 3.5.1 Specificity

Specificity relates to individuation, whereby a sort noun which is a concept in a generic sense, is further defined as being bounded and embodied in particular examples in the real world (Foley 1997). In terms of discourse functions, individuation is used to signal that a specific referent as opposed to a generic referent is being identified.

This is exemplified in (50). In Man\_eater.003, the idea that there were tigers attacking people is first introduced with the NP *ra'waaj* 'tiger(s)'. This is a generic use of 'tiger'. In Man\_eater.004, an event is related in which a specific animal is referred to by the NP *ra'waaj mooj too* 'a tiger', or 'a particular tiger'. The classifier phrase *mooj too* 'one animal' signals that this is a specific tiger.

(50)Man\_eater.003

*bat gü taŋ gaj kəət ?ah ra'waaj gaaj pok gaaj mah*  
 turn this\_one then but\_then be\_born have tiger DIR bite DIR eat  
*kɔɔn kim'ŋu? lootɕ taŋ məh sip məh saaw gon*  
 Kmhmu' people totally then be ten be twenty Clf\_people

Then (at) this time, (it) came about (that there) were tigers (that) came (and) attacked, came (and) ate Kmhmu' people; in total (it) was ten (or) twenty people.

Man\_eater.004

*ta'waan moŋ saam ban kaw rɔɔj sii*  
 time\_interval Clf\_months three Clf\_thousands nine Clf\_hundreds four  
*sip pɛɛt ?ah ra'waaj mooj too gaaj pok mah ja? dɛɛŋ*  
 Clf\_tens eight have tiger one Clf\_animals DIR bite eat Ms Daeng

In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.

Specificity may also be signalled using a proper noun or a possessor.

### 3.5.2 Identifiability

When a new referent is introduced into Kmhmu' discourse, a classifier phrase with the numeral 'one' is used to signal that this referent is unidentifiable, a brand new referent. In cognitive terms, this tells the hearer not to search for an existing mental representation but to create a new one. An example is shown in (51), where the orphan is introduced for the first time with an NP which includes the classifier phrase *mooj gon* 'one person'.

(51)Orphan.002

*lɛʔ ʔah kɔɔn'rook mooj gon*  
and have orphan one Clf\_people

And (there) was an orphan.

### 3.5.3 Thematic salience

Classifiers also signal the thematic salience of a new referent. A new referent is only marked with a classifier phrase when it is thematically salient. The orphan introduced in (51) is not only being signalled as unidentifiable, but also as significant for the following narrative. He is, in fact, the central character. He is introduced with a presentational clause and marked with a classifier phrase which instructs the hearer to set up a new mental representation and to label it with the identity of this thematically salient referent<sup>3</sup>. All new information following this reference will be filed under this label, until another new label is signalled.

Other less salient participants are introduced in presentational clauses but without a classifier phrase, as shown in (52), where the village people are introduced into the narrative. These villagers have no active part to play in the events of the story and so are not marked with a classifier phrase.

(52)Orphan.140

*lɛʔ ʔah kim'muʔ ʔah gon jet giʔ giʔ*  
and have Kmhmu' have person stay many many

And (there) were Kmhmu' people staying (there), many many (people).

<sup>3</sup> Presentational clauses are named for their function in introducing a new participant into a narrative. This clause type is sometimes known as an existential clause. In Kmhmu' a presentational clause contains the transitive verb *ʔah* 'to have'. Although it has no semantic subject, a presentational clause has two syntactic arguments, a dummy subject *gəə* 3sgn or 'it' (usually omitted), and then the nominal element whose presence is being established.

### 3.6 NPs with determiners in discourse

In the context of discourse, demonstratives may act beyond phrasal level and have **extended spatial** deictic functions. This is seen where the narrator points to locations in space with respect to a deictic centre within the setting of the narrative. An example is shown in (53). The place where the old man hides his money is referred to with the PP *da? kluəŋ gaəŋ ni?* 'at the inside of the house here'. The use of the locative *ni?* 'here' points to the spatial location in relation to the deictic centre of the narrative at that point, which is where the old man is in his home.

(53) Thief.005

*diil hootɕ gəə ʔuun ki'muul da? kluəŋ gaəŋ ni?*  
 poor\_sighted and\_then 3sgm put\_away money at inside house here

Being poor-sighted, and then he put away the money at the inside of the house here.

The choice of demonstrative in extended spatial deixis depends on the distance of the referent from the deictic centre in the narrative.

In his characterisation of the functions of demonstratives, Himmelmann (1996) describes other discourse functions as **situational** use and **discourse deictic** use. **Situational** use points to something outside the text, but present in the speech setting, and indicating spatial distance from some deictic centre in the speech situation. In (54) the speaker is describing how far away her husband is from the uncle and the bear. She points out the window to a kapok tree and uses that as a measure of the distance in the story. The immediate-proximal locative in the phrase *ʔnaam kʰii* 'amount here' points to her own position, and the medial locative *ŋaaj* 'there' and the near-proximal demonstrative pronoun *gi'ni?* 'that one' point to the position of the tree.

(54) Bear.033

*gle? ʔo? la? guuŋ gəə jɔh ʔnaam kʰii ʔnaam ŋaaj ni? lɛ?*  
 husband 1sg PRT see 3sgm go amount here amount there this PRT

*dza? pʰa'laaŋ ʔnaam dee sa'mɔɔt guuŋ ʔnaam kʰii*  
 far considerably amount generic look\_around see amount here

*ʔnaam tuut ŋiw gi'ni?*  
 amount kapok\_tree that\_one

My husband saw (them), he was from here to there away; (it) was reasonably far, a distance (that) one could look (and) see, the distance (from) here (to) that kapok tree.

**Discourse deictic** use points to a previous segment in the text. This is often seen in speech margins as shown in (55), where the NP *nɛɛw ni?* 'like this' points to the previous speech clause.

(55) Thief.010

*məh ki'muul k'aa ɽua kɔɔn ni? gəə law nɛɛw ni? lɛ?*  
 be money compensation child this 3sgm say type this PRT

(It) was the compensation money (for my) child," he said like this.

### 3.6.1 Tracking use

In Kmhmu' one of the most frequent uses of NPs with determiners in discourse is in tracking participants or other referents. An NP with a demonstrative may be used to signal an **identifiable referent**, to **disambiguate** an accessible referent, and to signal **thematic salience** of a referent.

**Identifiable** referents may have been **previously introduced** in the text, their identity may be **inferred** from a **schema** or expectation structure in the text, or from the **text-external world**. An example of an NP with a demonstrative marking a referent that has been **previously introduced** in the text is shown in (56). The NP *ki'muul ni?* 'the money' in Thief.004 signals that the referent *ki'muul* 'money' is identifiable. It was introduced in the previous sentence, Thief.003. Because of this function of signalling identifiability, the demonstrative *ni?* 'this' in this context is translated as 'the', the English definite article, which has a similar function.

(56)Thief.004

*gəə ɽuun ki'muul ni? hootɕ tɕaw'gəə məh jɔŋ kɔɔn haan*  
 3sgm put\_away money this CMPL that be father child die  
*lot tam ni?*  
 vehicle hit this

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the car hit (him)...

In the Thief narrative, the main character, the thief, is introduced as a teenager who was badly behaved and practised stealing. The **schema** associated with a

teenager leads the audience to expect some parents to be involved in the life of this adolescent. When the parents are first mentioned, an NP with the immediate proximal demonstrative *joŋ'ma? ni?* 'the parents' is used, as shown in (57), thus signalling an identifiable referent. This referent is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable by the hearers because of the schema of the family of a teenager.

(57)Thief.014

*nəəŋ joŋ'ma? ni? law ʔam saŋ jɔɔr sah ma? joŋ ni?*  
 know parents this say NEG pay\_back because mother father this  
*gɔ? ʔam ʔah mə? ɲɔɔn ɲəh ni? na?*  
 so\_then NEG have INDEF benefit INDEF this PRT

(They) knew, the parents, (and) said (they) would not repay (it), because the parents had not had anyone (in their household) receive anything (from this son)...

A referent may be identifiable because it is **inferrable** from the **text-external world**, i.e. the cultural knowledge of the audience. In the Orphan narrative the first mention of the village where the orphan was born is with an NP including a demonstrative, *kuŋ nɔɔ gi'ni?* 'that village of theirs', as shown in (58). This signals that the referent is identifiable even though it has not been mentioned previously, because everyone knows that people live in villages; thus the village is an identifiable referent.

(58)Orphan.006

*lɛ? kuŋ nɔɔ gi'ni? gəə ʔam ʔah maak ʎaŋ*  
 and village 3pl that\_one 3sgn NEG have many Clf\_buildings

And their village, it did not have many buildings.

The choice of demonstrative in tracking use depends on whether it is routine tracking, or there is a need to disambiguate a referent, and on whether the referent is being marked as salient in the narrative. For routine tracking, *ni?* 'this' is the demonstrative of choice to signal an identifiable referent. In 66 out of 99 occurrences of NPs with determiners used in tracking referents, *ni?* was used, as shown in examples (56) and (57). In identifying referents that are inferrable from the text-external world, the near proximal demonstrative pronoun, *gi'ni?* 'that one' tends to be used (3 occurrences), as shown in (58).

When a referent needs to be **disambiguated** from other plausible referents, *gi'ni?* 'that one' is also used (2 occurrences). According to Lambrecht (1994), this is often associated with referring expressions in right-dislocated position. An

example is shown in (59), where the NP *biiŋ tɕu? gi'ni?* 'that group' identifies a group referred to previously in Bear.021 with an intervening section of text referring to other participants. The referring NP is in right-dislocated position, where the speaker seeks to ensure that the pronominal reference, *nɔɔ* '3pl', earlier in the sentence, is clearly identifiable.

(59) Bear.027

*nɔɔ jɔh bip raŋ'kʰɔɔ da? ho? biiŋ'tɕu? gi'ni?*  
 3pl DIR meet civet at over\_there group that\_one

They went (and) found the civet over there, that group.

**Thematic salience** of the referent is another factor affecting the choice of demonstrative. When a referent is salient in the narrative either locally or globally, then *gi'ni?* is often used (26 occurrences). The referent marked by *gi'ni?* is given prominence because it is a significant participant in the ongoing narrative, or is highlighted as topic in the local thematic grouping or chunk of text. Thomas (1978), Filbeck (1991) and Bequette (2008) also report the use of a specific demonstrative to mark salient NPs in discourse.

When a major participant is referred to after their initial introduction, the demonstrative *gi'ni?* 'that one' may be used to signal the salience of that participant in the ongoing narrative, as shown in (60). Here the orphan is referred to at his second mention using a full NP with *gi'ni?*. He is the central character in the story, and thus his salience is marked with this form of the demonstrative.

(60)Orphan.003

*kɔɔn'rook gon gi'ni? lɛ? kəət tɕaak kʰɔɔpkʰua tʰuk tʰii sut*  
 orphan Clf\_people that\_one PRT be\_born from family poor SUPERL

That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.

Not every such reference to a major participant is marked with this demonstrative, but every use of the demonstrative *gi'ni?* in relation to a participant refers to one who is salient throughout the whole narrative, or one who is being presented as locally salient or topical in the current thematic grouping.

Plurality of the referent is another factor in choice of demonstrative. In the 2 remaining occurrences, the plural demonstrative *tʰir'ni?* 'these', was used.

Indefinite pronouns may also act as determiner in an NP. An NP with an indefinite pronoun as determiner signals to the hearer that any one of a number of possible referents is being referred to. The type of referent is identifiable from the textual context, but not a specific referent. An example is shown in (61), where the NP *nim gi'mə?* 'whichever year' refers to any year in a series of years at the period of time she is describing in the narrative. The type of referent, a year, has been mentioned in the previous sentence, Tan.129, and thus is identifiable.

(61) Tan.130

*ʔan nim gi'mə? dee bian rɔt sii sip taŋ dee*  
 COND year whichever unspecified achieve arrive four Clf\_tens then  
  
*kum mah*  
 cover eat

If whichever year we got forty (bags of rice), then (we) had enough to eat.

### 3.6.2 Recognitional use

Recognitional use is a function described by Himmelmann (1996) where an NP with a demonstrative identifies a referent in the text-external world which is inactive but identifiable to the audience from the cultural context. Such a referent is inactive in the sense that it has not been referred to in the text thus far, but is identifiable because it is in the long-term memory of the hearers (Chafe 1994). This is distinctive from tracking use in that it is typically the only reference made to this referent in the discourse, and it assumes a particular knowledge shared by the speaker and hearers which the speaker assumes can be called on by the audience to help in the identification. Therefore a description often accompanies this type of use. An example is given in (62), where the speaker describes the guns she is referring to as *si'naat kɛp dee ʔi? tɛŋ ʔeŋ gi'ni?* 'those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves', thus ensuring the audience will recognise what she is talking about.

(62) Bear.016

*mə? ɡə? mit si'naat nam ni? ʔɔŋ ʔah si'naat kɛp nɔɔ*  
 INDEF so\_then take gun time this yet have gun pellet 3pl  
  
*ɡə? ʔam tɕap si'naat luaŋ məh si'naat kɛp dee ʔi?*  
 so\_then NEG catch gun official be gun pellet unspecified 1pl

*tɛɛŋ ʔeɛŋ gi'ni?*  
do EMPH that\_one

Some took guns; (at) this time (there) were still pellet guns; so they didn't take army guns, (they) were those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves.

In English, the distal demonstrative is typically the form of choice in recognitional use, as seen in the translation in (62) 'those pellet guns of ours'. In Kmhmu' where there is a 4-way distance distinction between demonstratives, the pronominal near proximal form *gi'ni?* 'that one' is generally used. In this study, 5 out of 6 cases use *gi'ni?*. All of these NPs refer to props which are either locally salient or are mentioned throughout a large portion of the narrative. In the one instance of using *ni?* 'this', the referent is mentioned in passing and is not mentioned again in the narrative. Thus the motivating factor is that of salience.

A similar function to recognitional use is characterised by Himmelmann (1996) as reminder use. This is an anaphoric use of an NP with a determiner that identifies a referent not so much with focus on the referent, but in relation to the previous event involving that referent. Thus it differs from a tracking reference where the focus is on the referent and their part in the ongoing action. As in recognitional use, a description is given to aid the audience in recognition of the referent. This description refers to the event previously mentioned in the text in which the referent was involved. An example is shown in (63), where Tan goes walking with her father and he buys her an ice cream. She doesn't like it and throws it away, and on their return walk she refers again to the ice cream as *ka'lem tɕaw dee pitɕ gi'ni?* 'that icecream that I had thrown away'. Thus she identifies the ice cream using an NP with a demonstrative and a relative clause describing the event.

(63)Tan.108

*ŋaaj gaaj ʔo? haaj tɕii dar jɔh tim'kaal gəə p'ia tɕii de?*  
walk DIR 1sg prepare IRR run DIR pass\_by 3sgm PURP IRR get  
*bɔh kum ʔam ʔan gəə guuj ka'lem tɕaw dee pitɕ*  
dust cover NEG allow 3sgm see ice-cream REL unspecified discard  
*gi'ni?*  
that\_one

Walking back I prepared to run (and) overtake him, in order to get dust (and) cover (it) to not allow him to see that ice-cream that I had thrown away.



For reminder use, *gi'ni?* 'that one' was used in all 5 occurrences. There are two possible motivations for marking an NP using *gi'ni?* in a reminder use. One relates to the salience of the referent, and the other to the amount of mental effort required by the hearer to recall the referent. Of the 5 reminder uses of NPs with *gi'ni?*, 3 were used with locally or globally salient referents. The remaining 2 were used with referents which were not particularly salient in the narrative, but which had been previously mentioned more distantly in the narrative (on average 19 sentences previously), and thus would require more mental effort to recall.

### 3.7 Proper nouns in discourse

Proper nouns are uniquely referring expressions, requiring no further modification to make them specific. They may be used to **introduce an unidentifiable referent**, as shown in (64) where *ja? dɛɛŋ* 'Ms Daeng' is mentioned for the first time. In this sentence, the NP is the object of the clause, i.e. in the focus position. This sentence marks the boundary of a new thematic grouping in the text, where the hearer expects the introduction of new participants. In this context, the use of a proper noun signals to the hearer that this is a salient participant, and they should set up a new mental representation centred around her.

(64)Man\_eater.004

<i>ta'waaj</i>	<i>moŋ</i>	<i>saam</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>rɔɔj</i>	<i>sii</i>				
time_interval	Clf_months	three	Clf_thousands	nine	Clf_hundreds	four				
<i>sip</i>	<i>pɛɛt</i>	<i>?ah</i>	<i>ra'waaj</i>	<i>mooj</i>	<i>too</i>	<i>gaaj</i>	<i>pok</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>ja?</i>	<i>dɛɛŋ</i>
Clf_tens	eight	have	tiger	one	Clf_animals	DIR	bite	eat	Ms	Daeng

In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.

Proper nouns may also be used to refer to identifiable referents where there is a need to **disambiguate** them from others in a group. An example of this is seen in (65) where a family of seven is introduced into the discourse using proper nouns. In the following narrative, three of these participants have a significant role in the events of the story. As they are all female, the use of a pronoun would not sufficiently distinguish them, so proper nouns are used. In Man-eater.024 the mother is introduced as *ja? p<sup>h</sup>eŋ* 'Ms Pheng', and subsequently referred to as *ja? p<sup>h</sup>eŋ* 'Ms Pheng' in Man-eater.026. Similarly *ja? ti?* 'Ms Tw' and *ja? mi?* 'Ms Mi' are

also referred to again using proper nouns in Man-eater.026 and Man-eater.027 respectively. All three of these participants are salient in the ongoing narrative: Ms Pheng's digging attracts the tiger, Ms Mi is the first one attacked by the tiger, and Ms Tw is the only survivor in this gruesome story.

(65)Man\_eater.024

*naa məh ja? p<sup>h</sup>eŋ gle? naa məh ta? p<sup>h</sup>uu*  
 3sgf be Ms Pheng husband 3sgf be Mr Phu

She was Ms Pheng, (and) her husband was Mr Phu.

Man\_eater.025

*sɪ'naa ʔah kɔɔn haa gon ja? mi̯i ja? ʔɔɔŋ ta? ɲii ja? do?*  
 3du have child five Clf\_people Ms Mi Ms Ong Mr Ñi Ms Do

*ja? ti?*  
 Ms Teu

Those two had five children, Ms Mi, Ms Ong, Mr Ñi, Ms Do, (and) Ms Tw.

Man\_eater.026

*ja? p<sup>h</sup>eŋ ʔɔɔr kɔɔn tɕim'kin ŋam baar gon pa? bɔ?*  
 Ms Pheng lead daughter big two Clf\_people with carry\_on\_back

*ja? ti? jɔh sɔɔk k<sup>h</sup>iaŋ kwaaj da? bri?*  
 Ms Teu DIR seek dig tuber at forest

Ms Pheng took the two older daughters, and also carried Ms Tw on her back, (and) went to look for (and) dig tubers in the forest.

Man\_eater.027

*kɔɔn tɕim'kin ja? mi̯i ni? ʔah gle? naa maan kɔɔn bian*  
 daughter Ms Mi this have husband 3sgf be\_pregnant child achieve

*ʔok moŋ lɛɛw*  
 six Clf\_months already

The daughter Ms Mi had a husband, (and) she was already six months pregnant.

Proper nouns also **anchor unidentifiable referents** and serve to make them specific when they act as possessors in a possessive phrase. The new referent is anchored, or linked to an identifiable referent, that is referred to by the proper noun. An example of this is seen in (66). The father is first introduced as *joŋ ja? dɛɛŋ* 'Ms Daeng's father', the proper noun *ja? dɛɛŋ* 'Ms Daeng' anchoring and making a specific referent of *joŋ* 'father'.

(66)Man\_eater.014

*naam joŋ ja? dɛɛŋ pa? p<sup>h</sup>i'noŋ gaaj rɔɔt ra'waaj ni? tɕaak*  
when father Ms Daeng with relative DIR arrive tiger this tear

*mah ja? dɛɛŋ lootɕ ŋɔŋ guuŋ liŋ tɕə'ʔaŋ naa tɕi'k<sup>h</sup>rə?*  
eat Ms Daeng totally remain see only bone 3sgf skeleton

When Ms Daeng's father and the relatives arrived, the tiger had torn up (and) eaten Ms Daeng completely; (they) saw only her bones remaining, (her) skeleton.

Another role of proper nouns as referring expressions is their use as **terms of address**. In the context of discourse this is seen in direct speech between participants, as shown in (67) from Tan's story. Tan's father is offering to buy her an ice cream and addresses her by name, *tan* 'Tan'. Following the vocative, the pronoun *baa* '2sgf' also occurs. Suwilai (1987:38) reports that when a vocative is used, a co-referent pronoun is always included in the sentence.

(67)Tan's\_Story.099

*hooɕ joŋ law tan baa ɡɔ? tɕu? bə?*  
and\_then father say Tan 2sgf so\_then want eat

Then father said, "Tan, do you want to eat (some)?"

### 3.8 Kin terms in discourse

Kin terms are used in discourse for several functions: to signal **non-major participants**, to communicate **cultural information** such as social status, as **terms of address**, to **anchor unidentifiable referents**, to **re-activate accessible referents** and to **highlight the relationship** between the referents.

Unlike proper nouns, kinship terms are not uniquely referring expressions and are usually modified by a possessor when used to refer to unidentifiable referents. An example is given in (68), where the older sister is introduced as *taaj naa* 'her older sister'. The participant referenced as *naa* '3sgf' was introduced in the previous sentence by name. The use of a kin term is anchored to this identifiable referent using the possessor *naa* '3sgf'.

(68) Man\_eater.040

*taaj naa de? wek git ra'waaj ni? ɡɔ? ʔam ʔoh*  
elder\_sibling 3sgf get knife chop tiger this so\_then NEG wounded

hooṭṭ ra'waaḷ ni? gɔ? ɳɔɳ pok pa? ja? taaj ni? ʔnɛɛ  
 and\_then tiger this so\_then yet bite with Ms elder\_sibling this also

Her older sister got a knife (and) hacked at (the tiger), (but) the tiger was not wounded, then the tiger kept attacking the older sister too.

Kin terms as head of a possessive phrase like this signal **non-major participants**. They are not the participant in focus in the narrative, but rather their identity is only important in relation to a major participant, the possessor. Bequette (2008:70) found a similar use of kin terms where the more prominent participant is the possessor, which acts to anchor the kin term referent. This is clearly seen in the Orphan story, where the major participant is the orphan, and his mother and father are only ever referred to in relation to him as *ma? gəə* 'his mother' and *joŋ gəə* 'his father'.

In some contexts, however, kin terms can be understood as uniquely referring, and require no modification in the first mention of referents because of the **cultural context**. An example of a kin term as a uniquely referring expression is shown in (69). When the orphan requests entrance to the king's house, the guards reply that they will go and request permission from the king first. They refer to the king as *joŋ* 'father'. The cultural context of a king being known as the father of his subjects, and the immediate discourse context of the entrance of the king's house, means that this use of the single kin term *joŋ* is sufficient to identify the referent.

(69)Orphan.096

tɕii jɔh kʰrɔɔ jɔ? joŋ kaal ʔan joŋ ʔanu'naat ʔan guut  
 IRR DIR request with father before COND father permit COMP enter

tɕawsɪ'wit ni? ʔanu'naat ʔan guut tɕiŋ guut  
 king this permit COMP enter then enter

"(We) will go (and) request of father first; (and) if father permits (you) to enter, (if) the king permits (you) to enter, then (you can) enter.

Cultural context also influences the use of kin terms as referring expressions in that kin terms signal relative **social status** between participants. In Tan's story, a kin term is her referring expression of choice when she refers to her father as *joŋ ʔo?* 'my father', as this expresses appropriate respect to one of higher status, such as a parent.

In conversations within a narrative, kin terms are used as **terms of address**. Like proper nouns, when a kin term is used as a vocative, there is always a co-referent pronoun included in the sentence. This is shown in (70), where the princess addresses the orphan as *taaj* 'elder brother', and the pronoun *mee* '2sgm' then immediately follows.

(70)Orphan.052

*naa gɔʔ ləj law sah ʔoo taaj mee gi jət*  
 3sgf so\_then directly say COMP oh! elder\_sibling 2sgm this\_one stay  
*daʔ ʔar məʔ jɔh ʔeh jɔh rɔt niʔ law niʔ*  
 at direction which go EXCL DIR arrive here say this

So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

In the context of conversation without the use of vocatives, pronouns rather than kin terms are used as terms of address.

Kinship terms may act as possessors, thus **anchoring an unidentifiable referent** and making it specific. In (71) the unidentifiable referent *kɪ'muul k<sup>h</sup>aa ɽua* 'compensation money' is anchored and made specific using the kin term possessor *koon tɕim'brɔʔ dee niʔ* 'his son'.

(71)Thief.003

*hootɕ gəə laʔ bian kɪ'muul k<sup>h</sup>aa ɽua kɔn tɕim'brɔʔ*  
 and\_then 3sgm PRT achieve money compensation son  
*dee niʔ baŋ saʔ niʔ*  
 co-referent this 3pl pay\_back this

And then he got his son's compensation money (that) they paid back.

Also, as possessors, kin terms may enable accurate **re-activation of an accessible referent** by distinguishing it from other possible referents. In (72) the village created by the monkey is compared to that of the king. The king's village is referred to as *kuŋ joŋ noo gi'niʔ* 'their father's village', the embedded phrase *joŋ noo* 'their father' acting as possessor, and thus identifying the referent as that village which was previously described in Orphan.083 as *blia blia* 'very beautiful' and in Orphan.086 as *miaŋ deʔ tɕawsi'wit ɽaam jəʔ* 'city of a king (in) ancient times'.

(72)Orphan.124

*bliá lîin kuj joŋ nɔɔ gi'ni? tɛɛ ʔam da? ʔah*  
 beautiful more\_than village father 3pl that\_one but NEG not\_yet have

*gaan gon*  
 house person

(It) was more beautiful than their father's village, but (there) were not yet any houses (for) people.

In one interesting instance, a kin term is used as a classifier as shown in (73). In Thief.002, the use of *joŋ* 'father' as a classifier, rather than *gon* the normal classifier for people, **highlights the relationship** between the referents and focuses the hearer's attention on the father as the participant of significance rather than the son. This is evident from the fact that in the next sentence the narrator uses the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' in reference to the father. It is clearly the father who is being referred to here as he is the one getting the compensation money and he is again referred to with the co-referent pronoun *dee* as possessor in the phrase *kɔɔn tɕim'brɔ? dee ni?* 'his son'.

(73)Thief.002

*mooj mü ni? ʔah kɔɔn tɕim'brɔ? mooj joŋ ni? lot tam*  
 one Clf\_days this have son one Clf\_father this vehicle hit

One day, (there) was the son of one father, (whom) a vehicle hit.

Thief.003

*hootɕ gəə la? bian kɛ'muul k'aa ɾua kɔɔn tɕim'brɔ?*  
 and\_then 3sgm PRT achieve money compensation son

*dee ni? ban saj ni?*  
 co-referent this 3pl pay\_back this

And then he got his son's compensation money (that) they paid back.

Thus the kin term individuates and specifies the noun *kɔɔn tɕim'brɔ?* 'son', while also pointing to the father as the more significant participant.

### 3.9 Pronouns in discourse

Lyons (1977) describes the basic referential function of pronouns as deictic rather than anaphoric, which he sees as a metaphorical extension of deictic reference. The deictic function of pronouns is that they point to a particular referent in the speech situation. For first and second person singular pronouns,

this is particularly clear as the one speaking, pointing to oneself, and the addressee, pointing to the person in close physical proximity who is being spoken to. On the other hand, “Anaphora involves the transference of what are basically spatial notions to the temporal dimension of the context-of-utterance and the reinterpretation of deictic location in terms of what may be called location in the universe-of-discourse” (Lyons 1977:670). Thus in the context of an oral narrative, there may be both the deictic use of pronouns and the anaphoric use of pronouns.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.9.1 Deictic functions of pronouns

The deictic use of pronouns is particularly seen in the first person narrative of Tan. She begins her story by referring to herself, obviously a deictic reference as there is no antecedent for an anaphoric reference at this point in the narrative. This is shown in (74) where she uses the first person singular pronoun *ʔoʔ* to refer to herself.

(74)Tan.001

*ʔoʔ tɪr'dɔh liaŋ ɲaam ɽəŋ ɲaam ʔoʔ siɽ'maʔ*  
 1sg tell story period\_of\_time long\_time period\_of\_time 1sg have\_fever

I am telling a story (from) a time long ago, the time I had a fever.

It is also seen in the Bear story, where the narrator is a peripheral participant, and introduces the owners of the rice field with the first person plural pronoun *ʔiʔ* without any antecedent, as shown in (75). In the cultural context of the storyteller and the speech situation, this referent is understood to be the household of the storyteller.

(75)Bear.001

*mooj dia hiʔih ʔiʔ bian dee ʔəh ɽeʔ daʔ pʰuu*  
 one Clf\_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice\_field at mountain

*miiɪt ɲiʔ*  
 Meut here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

<sup>4</sup> Halliday & Hassan (1976: 18) use the term *exophora* for this deictic referential function that requires information outside the text itself in order to identify referents. They see anaphoric use of pronouns as one type of *endophoric* reference, i.e., reference within the text world.

### 3.9.1.1 Deictic use of *dee*

The unspecified pronoun *dee* has deictic functions in discourse which differ from other pronouns, and which include **generic reference**, **agent backgrounding**, a **default first person** reference, and a **mitigation** effect.

An example of a **generic** deictic reference and **agent backgrounding** is seen in (76). The narrator is describing the difficult journey taken by her husband carrying the injured uncle back to the village. There is no antecedent for *dee* in this instance; thus the usage is not anaphoric. It is a deictic function, pointing to a singular generic referent which could be translated as 'one' in English. By choosing the form *dee* the speaker also signals to the audience that what is in focus here is not the entity with the semantic role of agent, but the event or state of affairs. The pronoun *dee* is used to background the agent and highlight the event or the entity with the semantic role of patient (Taylor 1994:100). The identity of the participant who is climbing the mountain is not relevant here, but rather the distance and effort involved in the event.

(76)Bear.051

məh *dee*    gaa    kin'druum    mək    da?    ʔniŋ    pa'maan    saam  
be    generic    climb    underneath    mountain    at    up\_there    about    three  
  
sü    ʔak    ni?    le?  
four    Clf\_kms    this    PRT

When one climbs the lower slopes of the mountain up there, (it is) about three (or) four kilometres.

Kirsner (1975:389-97) in his article on “pseudo-passives” in Dutch describes a similar function of backgrounding agents. One function of a passive construction is to background the agent in order to focus on something else. In Kmhmu' which has no passive construction, this use of *dee* serves this function of backgrounding an agent when the speaker wishes to highlight an entire event. Thomas (1978) reports a similar use of a generic pronoun in Chrau discourse.

In Tan's story, *dee* has a **default first person** meaning. Where there is no antecedent to supply the person, number and gender details, the meaning is either first person singular, dual or plural depending on the context. An example of this is seen in (77) where *dee* is used in the first mention of Tan's village, and in context is taken to mean first person plural 'our'.



(77)Tan.002

*naam ni? ɲɔr ruuŋ da? kuŋ dee*  
period\_of\_time this road rough at village unspecified

(At) this time the road was rough at our village...

There is an interaction in Tan's story between Tan and her father which gives an interesting insight into another deictic use of *dee*, that of **mitigating** emotive force. It occurs during the ice cream episode when Tan's father is scolding her for throwing away the ice cream he bought for her. Having pointed out that many people have longed to eat an ice cream all their lives but have never been able to do so, he then reprimands her for throwing hers away, as shown in (78). He refers to Tan as *dee*.

(78)Tan.117

*baŋ ?an dee bə? dee la? pitɕ gəə*  
3pl give generic eat generic PRT discard 3sgn

Someone gives one (some) to eat, (and) one throws it away."

Up to this point in the conversation he has used *baa* '2sgf' to address Tan. The change to *dee* signals a mitigating of the accusatory force of the second person pronoun. A similar effect in English might be achieved by using first person plural instead of second person singular, e.g. "When someone gives us an ice cream, we don't throw it away".

### 3.9.2 Anaphoric functions of pronouns

Personal pronouns are used anaphorically in discourse to **disambiguate** male and female characters which are active referents in the mind of the hearer, and to **reiterate reference at boundaries** in the text. An example of **disambiguation** is shown in (79). The princess has just been introduced into the story in Orphan.049. In Orphan.052 the feminine form of the third person singular pronoun *naa* is used anaphorically to refer to the princess, and in Orphan.053 the masculine form *gəə* is used anaphorically to identify the orphan.

(79)Orphan.052

*naa gɔ? ləj law sah ?oo taaj mee gii jet*  
3sgf so\_then directly say COMP oh! elder\_sibling 2sgm this\_one stay

da? ʔar mə? jɔh ʔeh jɔh rɔɔt ɲi? law ni?  
 at direction which go EXCL DIR arrive here say this

So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

Orphan.053

gəə gɔ? jɛh sah ʔoo ʔo? baj nəŋ kuŋ ʔo? jɛt ləj  
 3sgm so\_then reply COMP oh! 1sg NEG know village 1sg stay at\_all

So he replied, "Oh! I don't know the village (where) I live at all.

An example of a pronoun being used to **reiterate** the identity of a referent at a text boundary is shown in (80). The uncle, a major participant, is introduced in Bear.009 in a presentational clause with the possessive phrase *kuuŋ ʔi?* 'our uncle', and referred to a second time using the phrase *kuuŋ ʔi? ni?* 'this uncle of ours', and then the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm'. From then on in Bear.009 he is given a zero reference, as he continues to be the subject of subsequent clauses. In the following sentence, Bear.010, although he is still the subject, the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is used. This is because there is a text boundary here as the action of the story begins, with a typical boundary marker *ʔah mooj mi?* 'one day'.

(80)Bear.009

dia gi'ni? ʔi? ʔah kuuŋ ʔi? kuuŋ ʔi?  
 time that\_one 1pl have uncle\_by\_marriage 1pl uncle\_by\_marriage 1pl  
 ni? gəə məh gon tʰii dzɔɔ Ø məh naaj pʰaan san'sah  
 this 3sgm be person that diligent uncle be expert\_hunter like\_this  
 Ø məh gon dzɔɔ sɔɔk too da? bri?  
 uncle be person HAB seek animal at forest

(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.

Bear.010

ʔah mooj mi? gəə jɔh diaŋ maak tɛɛk ni? jɔh plɔɔm da?  
 have one Clf\_days 3sgm DIR take hand\_grenade this DIR tie\_up at  
 jiaŋ ʔe? ni? pʰia tɕu? nəŋ law'sah gəə məh too ɲəh  
 base rice\_field this PURP want know COMP 3sgn be animal what

*jəh mah pɪn'sim daʔ reʔ niʔ*  
 DIR eat crop at rice\_field here

(There) was one day, he went (and) took a hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

### 3.9.2.1 Anaphoric use of *dee*

As in deictic use, so in anaphoric use, the unspecified pronoun *dee* has different uses from other pronouns. It can signal **co-referentiality**, **emphasis**, and **backgrounded events**.

In its **co-referential** function, *dee* indicates that a referent is the same as the actor antecedent in the clause. An example is shown in (81), where the princess is collecting water from a spring. Initially she is referred to using *naa* '3sgf' and subsequently using *dee* in the possessive phrase *ʔom dee* 'her water'.

(81)Orphan.067

*naa gəʔ gəʔk ʔom dee naaŋ gaaj rəʔt daʔ*  
 3sgf so\_then carry\_on\_shoulder water co-referent walk DIR arrive at  
*gaaj*  
 house

...then she carried her water on her shoulder (and) walked back (and) arrived at the house...

Another example of *dee* with this co-referential anaphoric use is seen in (82). In this case *dee* is co-referent with *gəə* '3sgm' referring to the orphan. It occurs in right-dislocated position in the clause, and adds a sense of **emphasis** similar to the English usage 'he, himself'.

(82)Orphan.038

*gəə gəʔ baj gul dee ləʔ gəə gəʔ hin'dzəʔ*  
 3sgm so\_then NEG fat co-referent and 3sgm so\_then thin

He was no longer fat, himself, and he was thin...

A further discourse function of *dee* is to signal **backgrounded events** in the narrative. In some sections of Tan's story, she switches from referring to herself as *ʔəʔ* '1sg' to referring to herself as *dee*. The trigger for this switch in pronouns is moving from events on the storyline to flashback, comment, rationale, feelings or

other forms of author intrusion, which are not on the mainline of events. When the storyline events resume, the switch back to using specific pronouns also occurs. This is shown in (83), where Tan's father has asked her if she would like an ice cream, and she responds that she would in Tan.100, referring to herself using the specific pronoun *ʔoʔ* '1sg'. Then follows a series of comments, in the rest of the sentence and Tan.101, explaining why she said yes. In these comments she refers to herself as *dee*. When the storyline events resume, in Tan.102, with her licking the ice cream and walking after her father, she switches back to using *ʔoʔ* '1sg' again.

(83)Tan.100

*hootɕ ʔoʔ law bəʔ ʔnaj dee ʔam gəəj bəʔ ʔmooj bat*  
 and\_then 1sg say eat but unspecified NEG ever eat not\_one Clf\_turns  
*ʔam gəəj bəʔ ʔmooj dia*  
 NEG ever eat not\_one Clf\_times

Then I said, "(I) do," but I had never eaten (it) once; (I) had never eaten (it) even once.

Tan.101

*dee law bəʔ dee diim sah gəə tɕii lam*  
 unspecified say eat unspecified believe COMP 3sgn IRR delicious

I said (I) did (want to eat it), I believed that it would be delicious.

Tan.102

*ʔoʔ gəʔ glɛt glɛt jɔh hootɕ jəŋ ʔoʔ ɲaəŋ jɔh kaal*  
 1sg so\_then lick lick DIR and\_then father 1sg walk DIR before

I licked (the ice-cream), licked (and) went along, and my father walked along in front.

Thus *dee* is signalling that this section of the text is not part of the storyline of the narrative.

### 3.9.2.2 Anaphoric use of *baŋ*

The pronoun *baŋ* '3pl' is used in discourse to **background participants** who are agents in the event and also to **background events**.

In **backgrounding participants**, it signals to the hearer that the agent is not in focus, but rather the event or the patient is being highlighted. An example of this

usage is seen in (84). This is the peak episode in the narrative, where Tan is admitted to the intensive care unit in the hospital and intubated to assist her breathing. The pronoun *baŋ* '3pl' refers to the medical staff, and is used to background them as agents and highlight the events of the crisis, and the main participant, Tan, who is the patient in more ways than one.

(84)Tan.056

*baŋ de? tʰɔɔ to'jo pi'guut seh kluəŋ hin'tu? muh*  
 3pl get pipe respirator\_tube insert put\_in inside hole nose

They got respirator tubing (and) inserted (it) in the inside of (my) nostril.

In successive sentences, Tan.059, 060, 061 and 062, *baŋ* is repeatedly used as the medical staff continue to act as agents, but are maintained as backgrounded referents.

An example of *baŋ* **backgrounding events** occurs in a flashback in (85). The orphan-now-king sends his soldiers to invite the father-king to come to the new village the monkey has created. The soldiers warn the father-king and give him instructions about how to approach the village. As the father-king sets off, the narrator reminds the audience of these instructions. In this flashback, the soldiers are referred to using *baŋ* to signal a backgrounding of the participants in order to highlight what they said, and to signal that this speech is not part of the storyline, but a flashback.

(85)Orphan.156

*baŋ law kaal tɕii jɔh ʔan dap mat sa'tɕaəŋ ʔəm dap mat*  
 3pl say before IRR go IMP cover eye elephant IMP cover eye

*hɪm'braŋ ʔəm*  
 horse IMP

They had said, "Before (you) go, cover the elephants' eyes, cover the horses' eyes.

Orphan.157

*leh tɕii rɔɔt lɛɛw lɛɛw bɔɔ ban'saa ʔan gəə jɔh taam*  
 near IRR arrive already and\_then 2pl organise CAUS 3sgn DIR follow

*ŋɔɔr kʰo?*  
 road EXCL

(When you) have nearly arrived, then you must organise (and) make them to go along (and) follow the road."

These backgrounding functions of *baŋ* are similar to those of the unspecified pronoun *dee*.

### 3.9.3 Pronominal constructions

Pronominal constructions observed in this study include appositional constructions, pronoun phrases with classifiers and pronoun phrases with determiners. In terms of discourse functions, pronoun phrases are involved in **reiteration** of participant identity at text boundaries and **disambiguation** of referents.

#### 3.9.3.1 Appositional pronoun constructions

Appositional pronoun constructions are composed of a pronoun in apposition with an NP. These are chosen as referring expressions at text boundaries to **reiterate** the identity of participants, and are also used to **disambiguate** accessible participants where a pronoun alone might be insufficient.

An example of an appositional pronoun construction used to **reiterate** the identity of participants at a text boundary is shown in (86), where Tan and her father are setting out on their journey to the hospital. Tan.015 is at the beginning of a major division in the text as the discourse moves from the stage, where the background of the events in the story are laid out, to the pre-peak episodes where the action begins. The participants are referred to in Tan.014 as *joŋ ʔoʔ* 'my father' and *ʔoʔ* '1sg'. In Tan.015, where the next section begins, they are reiterated using the appositional pronoun phrase *ʔaʔ kɔɔn joŋ* 'we two, child (and) father'.

(86)Tan.014

*hootɕ joŋ ʔoʔ gɔʔ ʔɔɔr ʔoʔ jɕh*  
and\_then father 1sg so\_then lead 1sg go

And then my father took me.

Tan.015

*jɕh daʔ hoŋmɔɔ ʔaʔ kɔɔn joŋ ʔɔɔr jɕʔ guut lot məh*  
go at hospital 1du child father lead together enter vehicle be

*lot lat gi'niʔ ɛʔ*  
vehicle state that\_one PRT

Going to hospital, we two, child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

An example of an appositional pronoun construction **disambiguating** accessible participants is shown in (87). The group referred to by *nɔɔ* '3pl', is part of the hunting party and was previously mentioned in Bear.027. Another group, that of the village people who did not go on the hunt, was referred to using *nɔɔ* in Bear.042. In order to avoid confusion and give the hearers the information they need to correctly identify the referent of *nɔɔ* in Bear.044, the speaker adds the relative clause *biiŋ'gəə jɔh gi? gon* 'who went (with) many people'.

(87)Bear.044

<i>bat</i>	<i>gii</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nɔɔ</i>	<i>biiŋ'gəə</i>	<i>jɔh</i>	<i>gi?</i>	<i>gon</i>	<i>ni?</i>	<i>wer</i>
turn	this_one	turn	time	3pl	REL	go	many	Clf_people	this	return
<i>gaaj</i>										
DIR										

Then (at) this time they who went (with) many people, came back.

### 3.9.3.2 Pronoun phrases with classifiers

Only one example of a pronoun phrase with a classifier is found in the texts under study, where it is used to **disambiguate** accessible referents in the narrative. This is shown in (88). This sentence comes during the episode of the mother, introduced as *ja? p<sup>h</sup>ej* 'Ms Pheng', and her three daughters who went to the forest and were attacked by the tiger. Orphan.029 to Orphan.032 describe how the tiger attacked the mother and two of the daughters, and another daughter escaped and hid. The father organises a search party in the morning, and Man-eater.034 relates how they did not find any trace of the three who were attacked.

The pronoun phrase, *nɔɔ saam gon ra'waaj hii pok mah lootɕ læw* 'them (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely', occurs in right-dislocated position, a position often used in disambiguating an accessible referent (Lambrecht 1994). It includes a classifier phrase *saam gon* 'three people' and a restrictive relative clause *ra'waaj hii pok mah lootɕ læw* 'the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely'. The classifier phrase clarifies that three of the people were not found, and alerts the hearer to wonder about the fourth participant in this episode. The restrictive relative clause identifies the three by

referring to an event they were involved in that is accessible from the text, the tiger's attack.

(88)Man\_eater.034

*jəh sɔk məʔ ɡɔʔ ʔam bɪp nɔɔ saam gon ra'waaj*  
 DIR seek INDEF so\_then NEG meet 3pl three Clf\_people tiger  
*hiɪ pɔk mah lootɕ læw*  
 PstCMPL bite eat totally already

Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.

### 3.9.3.3 Pronoun phrases with determiners

Pronoun phrases with determiners are used in **deictic** functions and **anaphoric tracking** functions in discourse.

The **deictic** functions are seen in conversations reported in the narrative, and can be used in basic spatial deixis or in signalling **re-activation** of another referent. An example is shown in (89), where the king is speaking to the princess about the orphan. He refers to the orphan using the pronoun phrase *ɡəə ɡii* 'this him'. In this context the determiner serves a basic spatial deictic function, probably accompanied with pointing.

(89)Orphan.102

*ʔan baa tɕii deʔ ɡəə ɡii ʔan baa ɡɔʔ duʔ brɔɔm ɡəə*  
 COND 2sgf IRR get 3sgm this\_one IMP 2sgf so\_then flee with 3sgm  
*sah*  
 COMP

"...If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.

An example of **re-activation** of another referent is shown in (90). The orphan is speaking to the princess. He has just been talking about her, her beauty and wealth, and then changes topic to talk about himself. He uses the pronoun phrase, *ʔoʔ niʔ* '1sg this' in left-dislocated position with a separating pause, to mark the change in topic. This signals to the hearer that an accessible referent has been re-activated in place of the previous active referent.

(90)Orphan.071



*tɛɛ ʔoʔ niʔ som'k<sup>h</sup>uan sir'məʔ ʔoʔ tɔɔŋ mah kwaaj jɔɔr sah ʔoʔ*  
 but 1sg this worthy INTENS 1sg NEC eat tuber because 1sg  
*mah kwaaj bian mooj ʔnian gii læw law nɛɛw niʔ*  
 eat tuber achieve one Clf\_months this\_one already say type this

"...But I, (I) am really worthy (of this), I must eat tubers because I have been eating tubers lasting for this one month already," (he) said like this.

Pronoun phrases with determiners are used **anaphorically** in a similar way to NPs with determiners, to signal an identifiable referent. The use of a pronoun alone in an anaphoric reference implies that the referent is identifiable, but the addition of the determiner signals that this is the salient participant that we are referring to here, and brings him back into focus. An example is shown in (91) where the orphan is referred to as *gəə niʔ* 'this him'.

(91)Orphan.016

*mia liaŋ jɔh liaŋ gaaj maʔkin gɔʔ læj sr'ʔɔh gəə niʔ*  
 when raise DUR raise DUR aunt so\_then directly hate 3sgm this

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

In the previous two sentences the aunt was introduced and became the active referent. The use of the pronoun phrase *gəə niʔ* signals a change in the focus. Although the aunt continues to be the active referent, signalled by zero references to her in Orphan.017 and Orphan.018, the focus of the new information given in these sentences switches to the orphan and what he suffers at her hand.

### 3.10 Classifier phrases as referring expressions in discourse

Classifier phrases have discourse level functions which include acting **anaphorically** in tracking referents, and providing temporal setting phrases that act as **boundary markers** in discourse.

In their **anaphoric** function, classifier phrases may be used to quantify identifiable referents from a previous clause or sentence (Lyons 1977; Bisang 1999). An example is shown in (92). This comes at a point in the story where Tan has been diagnosed as in need of a blood transfusion. The cost of blood is discussed, and the dilemma they faced in not being able to afford to buy it. In Tan.068 there is a reference to *maam gi'niʔ* 'that blood'. This is followed by two

references to the blood in Tan.069 using classifier phrases without a head noun, namely *saam daj* 'three bags', and *kin ki'baar daj* 'only two bags'.

(92)Tan.068

*joŋ ʔoʔ ɡoʔ jɔh sɔk wɛt maam ɡi'niʔ*  
 father 1sg so\_then DIR seek buy blood that\_one

So then my father went to look for (and) buy that blood.

Tan.069

*nɔɔ law ʔan seh saam daj ʔnaj joŋ ʔam ʔah ki'muul*  
 3pl say OBLIG put\_in three Clf\_bags but father NEG have money  
*ɡoʔ ləj jɔh wɛt kin ki'baar daj ɡaaj seh*  
 so\_then directly DIR buy only two\_of Clf\_bags DIR put\_in

They said (we) must put in three bags, but father didn't have money, so (he) just went (and) bought only two bags (and) came (and they) put (them) in.

The classifier phrases are here used as anaphoric references to *maam gi'niʔ* 'that blood', back in Tan.068.

As **boundary markers**, classifier phrases are used in adverbial time phrases to mark boundaries in the text, often signalling the beginning of a new episode. The usual form is the phrase *mooj miʔ* 'one day', or less often *mooj dia* 'one time', which is not a counting device but a referring expression, identifying a point in the sequence of events in the narrative. Usually this marks the beginning of the action in the story, or the 'inciting moment' (Longacre 1996:37) that sets the whole train of events in motion. In (93) the phrase *mooj miʔ* 'one day' marks the day when the orphan leaves his aunt and begins the journey which constitutes the next major episode in the story, and which leads to all the subsequent events in the narrative.

(93)Orphan.019

*lɛʔ mooj miʔ ʔaʔnuʔ ɡoʔ pʰɔ'dii bian kaw pii kaw*  
 and one Clf\_days age so\_then exactly achieve nine Clf\_years nine  
*kʰuap niʔ lɛʔ ɡəə ɡoʔ ləj leŋ jɔh*  
 Clf\_years this PRT 3sgm so\_then directly wander DIR

And one day (when his) age had reached exactly nine years, he just went wandering off.

### 3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions in discourse

Demonstratives act as referring expressions in their own right without being part of an NP. In this study, demonstratives are used in **situational deixis**, **tracking** of participants and **discourse deixis**.

In **situational deixis**, a demonstrative points to something outside the text, but present in the speech setting (Himmelmann 1996), such as a speaker pointing to a body part on their own body to explain what is happening in the story, as shown in (94). The speaker points to her own waist to show where the knife was held, and uses the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun *gii* 'this one' to indicate this.

(94) Bear.037

*gəə gaj tətɕ miit da? ɡaŋ da? ɡii*  
 3sgm but\_then draw\_out knife at waist at this\_one

But then he drew out a knife at (his) waist here.

An example of a demonstrative used in **tracking** a discourse referent is shown in (95). The main participant, the thief, is introduced in the first clause, and referred to in the second clause using just the near proximal demonstrative pronoun *gi'ni?*, thus signalling his identifiability and also his salience as a participant in the ongoing narrative.

(95) Thief.001

*ʔah mooj gon hi'ʔih gi'ni? ŋətŋ məh gon waj'lun ni?*  
 have one Clf\_people PRT that\_one yet be person teenager this  
*lɛ? ʔnii ʔnii waj lætɕ*  
 PRT naughty naughty ABIL steal

(There) was a person ok, that one was still a teenager, (he) was very badly behaved, (and he) was adept at stealing.

In their **discourse deictic** function, demonstratives point to a previous segment in the text, referring to an identifiable event or state of affairs (Himmelmann 1996). An example of this is shown in (96). In Tan.007 she describes how she ate too much jujube fruit. In Tan.008 she refers to this event using the near proximal demonstrative pronoun *gi'ni?* 'that one'.

(96) Tan.007

ʔoʔ mah pleʔtʰan niʔ maak pʰoot ləʔ tɛɛŋ ʔan ʔoʔ sir'maʔ  
 1sg eat jujube this many too\_much directly cause 1sg have\_fever

I ate too much jujube fruit then (that) caused me to have a fever.

Tan.008

kin'niʔ gi'niʔ lɛɛw ʔoʔ ɡoʔ sir'maʔ jet daʔ kuŋ tɕii  
 behind that\_one already 1sg so\_then have\_fever located at village IRR  
 bian graaw mooj ʔa'tʰit baar ʔa'tʰit  
 achieve approximately one Clf\_weeks two Clf\_weeks

After that then I had a fever located at the village lasting about one week [or] two weeks.

### 3.12 *Sij* constructions in discourse

As referring expressions in discourse, *sij* constructions are used as narrator comments, to add extra explanatory information about a referent. They do not signal the activation status or salience of the referent, but are usually used with an **active referent** (8 instances), and sometimes aid in identification of an **accessible** (2 instances) or **inactive referent** (1 instance). Some examples are given below.

In (97) the *sij* construction is added at the end of the sentence as additional descriptive information about an **active referent**, the vehicle, *sij meh lot tʰü banj deʔ saʔɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ raʔ* 'being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure (on the back)'.  
 PHAYAKHUMUNIVERSITY

(97)Tan.005

məh lot bɔri'sat buuntʰaʔnɔɔm lii deɛ law ʔiik mooj  
 be vehicle company Bounthanom or generic say again one  
 kir'loh məh lot deʔ lat sij məh lot tʰü banj deʔ  
 Clf\_words be vehicle POSS state NMLZ be vehicle that 3pl get  
 saʔɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ raʔ  
 wood do structure

(It) was the Buunthanoom Company's vehicle or one (could) say in other words (it) was the government's vehicle, being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure (on the back).

In (98) a *siŋ* construction refers to an **event which is accessible** from the text. The man who was robbed is cursing the thief, saying he should die in the same way as his son died. His son's death is described in Thief.002. In Thief.009 he refers to this event with the construction *siŋ kɔɔn ʔoʔ gi'niʔ* 'like that of that my son', to explain the way the thief should die.

(98)Thief.009

*gəə ɡoʔ tɪr'waaʃ məh məʔ hak mɔɔt ki'muul ʔoʔ*  
 3sgm so\_then rage be INDEF nevertheless take\_hold money 1sg  
*kʰii kʰrɔɔ ʔan gəə haan ŋian siŋ kɔɔn ʔoʔ gi'niʔ ʔəm*  
 here request COMP 3sgm die be\_like NMLZ child 1sg that\_one IMP

So then he raged, "Whoever it was took my money here, (I) ask that he die like my son('s death)!"

Sometimes a *siŋ* construction is used by the narrator to give an explanation in terms of reasons for events or situations arising in the narrative. In (99) Tan is describing her feelings now as she looks back at the difficult time when she was sick, and the hardship her family suffered in the years that followed. She uses the construction *siŋ dee tʰii ʔooj* 'about our belief in spirits', to give the reason for her distress.

(99)Tan.128

*tɪr'gət ɲaam niʔ tɕuʔ hɪr'ɲiam siŋ dee tʰii*  
 think period\_of\_time this hurt heart NMLZ unspecified believe\_in  
*ʔooj tɕuʔ hɪr'ɲiam sɪr'məʔ tɕɛŋ ʔan dee tʰuk ɟɔɔr ɟɛt*  
 spirit hurt heart INTENS cause unspecified poor because DUR  
*saj ɲii siŋ'tɕuʔ deʔ ʔoʔ daʔ ɲaam niʔ*  
 pay\_back debt suffering POSS 1sg at period\_of\_time this

(When I) think about this time (I) am upset about our belief in spirits, (I) am really upset (that it) caused us to be poor, because (we) kept on paying back the debts of my illness at this time.

It was this belief that required them to go into debt to buy and sacrifice a buffalo, and kept them poor for years afterwards.

In his description of a similar particle in Mal, Filbeck (1991) describes its discourse function as giving prominence to the content of the clause it introduces. Further data is needed to clarify whether that is the case in Kmhmu'.

### 3.13 Zero anaphora in discourse

Once a referent has been activated, a zero reference is used until a new referent is activated, or there is some other discontinuity in the text. The use of a zero reference signals to the hearer that the referent is active. An example of this is seen in (100), where the orphan's aunt is the active participant at this point in the narrative. In Orphan.016 she is referred to using the noun *maʔkin* 'aunt'. She remains the active referent, and this is signalled by subsequent null references to her in Orphan.017 and Orphan.018.

(100)Orphan.016

*mia liaŋ jɔh liaŋ gaaj maʔkin ɡɔʔ ləj sr'ʔɔh ɡəə niʔ*  
 when raise DUR raise DUR aunt so\_then directly hate 3sgm this

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

Orphan.017

*∅ sr'ʔɔh ɡəə niʔ ∅ saɟ ɡəə tɛɛŋ wiak ∅ saɟ ɡəə jɔh*  
 aunt hate 3sgm this aunt use 3sgm do work aunt use 3sgm go

*kʰi i jɔh ɲaaj lɛʔ ∅ ʔam ʔan ɡəə bəʔ mah*  
 here go there and aunt NEG allow 3sgm eat rice

Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

Orphan.018

*ʔan ɡəə bəʔ ∅ ɡɔʔ ʔan ɡəə bəʔ dɛk ∅ ʔam ʔan*  
 COND 3sgm eat aunt so\_then allow 3sgm eat a\_little aunt NEG allow

*ɡəə bəʔ maak*  
 3sgm eat many

If he ate, then (she) allowed him to eat a little; (she) didn't allow him to eat much.

### 3.14 Summary

An inventory of Kmhmu' referring expressions and a summary of their functions in discourse is given in Table 12.

Table 12: Inventory and Functions of Kmhmu' Referring Expressions

Referring expression (occurrences in study)	Discourse function
NPs with nonrestrictive attributive modifiers (56)	introduce unidentifiable referents signal salience by amount of encoding signal role of referent in narrative by content of modifiers
NPs with restrictive attributive modifiers (72)	identify accessible referents using unique attributes or events
possessive phrases (127)	anchor unidentifiable referents individuate/specify unidentifiable referents locate identifiable referents in the discourse world
possessive phrases with <i>de?</i> (8)	focus attention on the possessor
NPs with classifier phrases (37)	signal specificity of a referent introduce an unidentifiable, thematically salient referent
NPs with determiners (238)	point to referents in the discourse world point to referents in the speech situation point to previous segments of text signal identifiable referents disambiguate accessible referents signal thematic salience of referents identify inactive referents
Proper nouns (57)	introduce unidentifiable referents disambiguate identifiable referents anchor unidentifiable referents act as terms of address
Kin terms (131)	signal non-major participants communicate cultural information act as terms of address anchor unidentifiable referents re-activate accessible referents highlight the relationship between 2 referents
Pronouns (433)	introduce unidentifiable referents through deixis signal backgrounding of an agent when the patient or event is in focus mitigate emotive force through generic reference disambiguate male and female participants

Referring expression (occurrences in study)	Discourse function
	reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities signal co-referentiality highlight a participant through emphasis signal backgrounded events
Pronominal constructions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• appositional pronoun phrases and pronoun phrases with classifiers (4)</li> <li>• pronoun phrases with determiners (8)</li> </ul>	reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities disambiguate accessible referents  signal re-activation of an accessible referent signal an identifiable, thematically salient referent
Classifier phrases (95)	refer to and quantify identifiable referents mark text boundaries
Demonstratives (34)	point to referents in speech setting signal identifiable, thematically salient referents point to previous segments of text
<i>Sij</i> constructions (11)	add descriptive or explanatory information about referents refer to events accessible from the text
Zero anaphora (341)	signals an active referent

The amount and type of linguistic encoding in a referring expression reflects both the mental effort required by the hearer to identify a referent, and the thematic salience of that referent. In the Kmhmu' inventory of referring expressions, the speaker is equipped with a wide range of options to clearly signal the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of referents in narrative discourse.